1; Evans-Pritchard E-S (1931, 1936) 1940
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Map showing approximate area (shaded) occupied by the Nuer.

[Face p. 1]

1; Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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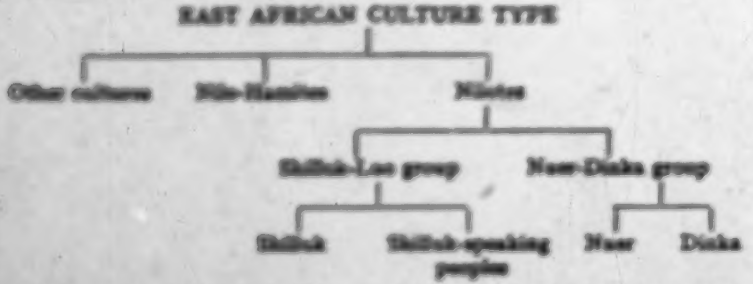
II

I describe in this volume the ways in which a Nilotic people obtain their livelihood, and their political institutions. The information I collected about their domestic life will be published in a second volume.

The Nuer,[1] who call themselves *Naath* (sing. *raan*), are round about 200,000 souls and live in the swamps and open savannah that stretch on both sides of the Nile south of its junction with the Sobat and Bahr el Ghazal, and on both banks of these two tributaries. They are tall, long-limbed, and narrow-headed, as may be seen in the illustrations. Culturally they are similar to the Dinka, and the two peoples together form a subdivision of the Nilotic group, which occupies part of an East-African culture-area the characteristics and extent of which are at present ill-defined. A second Nilotic subdivision comprises the Shilluk and various peoples who speak languages similar to Shilluk (Luo, Anuak, Lango, &c.). Probably these Shilluk-speaking peoples are all more alike to one another than any one of them is to the Shilluk, though little is yet known about most of them. A tentative classification may be thus presented:



Nuer and Dinka are too much alike physically and their languages and customs are too similar for any doubt to arise about their common origin, though the history of their divergence is unknown. The problem is complicated: for example, the Atwot, to the west of the Nile, appear to be a Nuer tribe who have adopted many Dinka habits,[2] while the Jikany tribes of

[1] The word 'Nuer' is sanctioned by a century of usage. It is probably of Dinka origin. I use it in singular and plural, speaking of 'a Nuer man' and of 'the Nuer people'.

[2] Fouret, *op. cit.*, p. 34. They appear as Atot in the map on p. 119.

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Sketch-map showing the larger Nuer tribes.

[p.18]

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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1: Evans-Pritchard E-S (1931, 1936) 1940
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and is cracked into deep fissures. The wet and dry seasons are therefore very pronounced and the transition from one to the other sudden.

Scarcity of rain is probably more serious than low river water, but both may inconvenience Nuer to the point of famine, because sufficient water may not be held up in the clay beds to enable the grasses to recover from firing; inland watercourses may quickly dry up and compel movement to lakes and rivers earlier than is desirable; and there may be a shortage of the marsh pasturage which is usually the mainstay of the cattle at the end of the dry season. Insufficient rain may also destroy the millet. Moreover, it is probable that low rainfall over the whole of North-East Africa causes insufficiency of rain and low rivers to occur in Nuerland simultaneously. Western Nuerland is less subject to drought than Eastern Nuerland, and to the west of the Nile there is always water within easy reach of villages. This seems largely due to the fact that the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal do not sink in their beds to any extent, since they are fed by perennial streams and have enormous marsh and lake reservoirs. High rainfall and high river water probably also go together and in such years of flood it is difficult for the cattle to find enough grazing to maintain life.

The main characteristics of Nuerland are: (1) It is dead flat. (2) It has clay soils. (3) It is very thinly and sporadically wooded. (4) It is covered with high grasses in the rains. (5) It is subject to heavy rainfall. (6) It is traversed by large rivers which flood annually. (7) When the rains cease and the rivers fall it is subject to severe drought.

These characteristics interact with one another and compose an environmental system which directly conditions Nuer life and influences their social structure. The determination is of so varied and complex a nature that we do not attempt to summarise its full significance at this stage of our description, but shall ask ourselves a simpler question: to what extent are the Nuer controlled by their environment as herdsmen, fishermen, and gardeners? We have demonstrated that their chief interest is in their herds and shall first discuss how this interest, combined with physical conditions, necessitates a certain mode of life.

[p.56 contains no Textual material]

1: Evans-Pritchard E-S (1931, 1936) 1940
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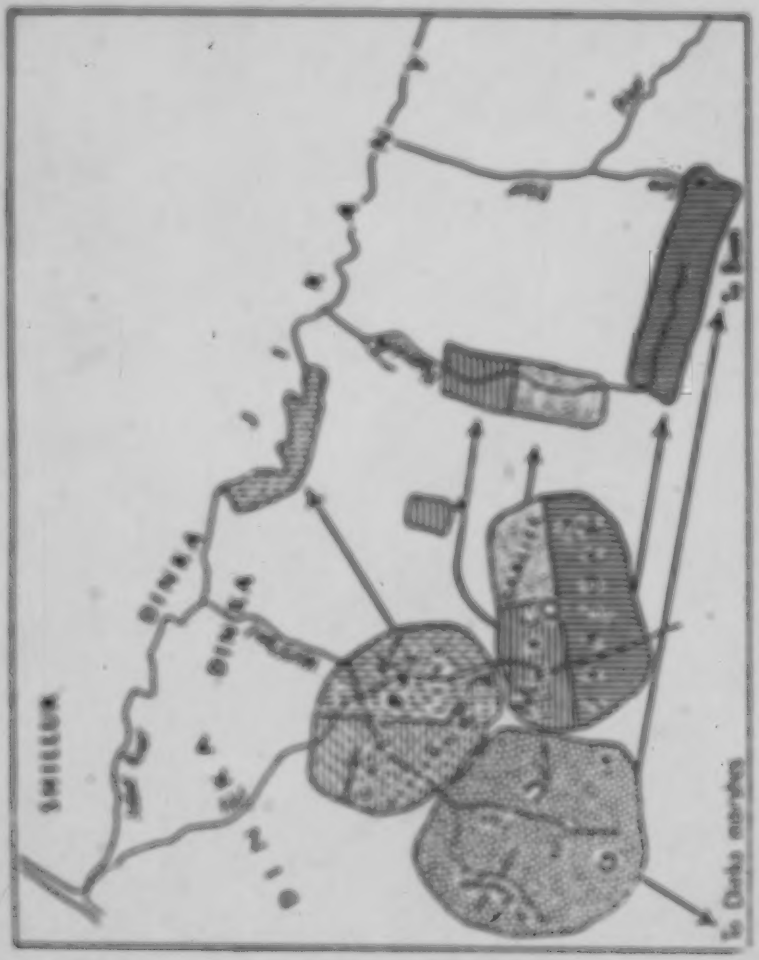

[p. 56]

I: Evans-Pritchard E-S (1931, 1936) 1940
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Sketch-map to show distribution of the Eastern Jikany tribal sections (arrows point from area of villages to dry season camps) (after Mr. C. L. Armstrong).

[p. 58]

J: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
F322 Nuer F322

761 maps are mainly, and often entirely, without village sites, and in Western Nuerland the whole area between the Nile and the Bahr el Ghazal is very sparsely dotted with small villages; and the same is probably true of the country to the north of the Bahr el Ghazal.

I am compelled to describe the distribution of dry season camps as vaguely as the distribution of villages. Early camps may be found almost anywhere and often comprise only a few households; but the location of larger camps, formed later in the season, can be known in advance because there are only a few places which provide adequate water. Their size depends largely on the amount of water and grazing and their population varies from about a hundred to over a thousand souls. These concentrations are never tribal but comprise larger or smaller tribal sections. Round a lake a camp may be distributed in several sections with a few hundred yards between each; or one may then speak of contiguous camps. In any camp a few windscreens are generally adjacent to, almost touching, one another, and such a group may often at a glance be seen to be a distinct unit with its own section of the common kraal. Along the left bank of the Sobat and the right bank of the Baro one may observe from a steamer camps almost anywhere, separated from one another by only a few miles; but up streams, like the Nyanding and Filus, in which only isolated pools of water remain, several miles separate camps. Some large camps in the interior of Lou country are separated by more than twenty miles of bush.

• 131 619 Great rivers flow through Nuerland and it is often these natural boundaries which indicate the lines of political cleavage. The Sobat separates the Gaajok tribe from the Lou tribe; the Pibor separates the Lou tribe from the Anuak people; the Zeraf separates the Thiang and Lak from the Dinka; the Ghazal separates the Karlual primary section of the Leek tribe from its other two primary sections; and so forth. Marshes and areas inundated in the rains likewise separate political groups. The Macar swamps divide the Eastern Gaajak from the Gaajok and Gaagwang; water-covered stretches divide, in the rains, the Rengyan from the Wot, Bor, &c.; and so on.

000 This account of distribution is unavoidably vague, but the main conditions and their significance can easily be summed up.

S:Maxwell E. G-5 (1942-1944)1954
F322 Nuer F322

internal strife and political fission. (v) As the pressure from the north increased, a return to a semblance of cohesion was necessary and there emerged the great Nuer leaders or 'Prophets' who arose as symbols of tribal resistance to foreign aggression represented first in the Dervish forces who attempted to establish slaving centres in Nuerland and finally by the forces of the present Government. (vi) In the years which followed, administration was limited to an attempt to hold the Nuer from their attacks on the Dinka, to prevent fighting among themselves, and to the collection of taxes. Naturally enough the Nuer resented this, particularly the collection of tribute in cattle and the prevention of cattle raids, and despite the outstanding efforts of individual administrators such as Stirard, Stigand, and Jackson, the attempt to establish ordered administration was only partially successful. Resistance, raids on neighbouring tribes, and lack of internal security reached a climax in 1928. Captain Ferguson, then District Commissioner of Western Nuer, was assassinated; the Lou Nuer led by Gwek Ngundeng[1] had been showing open defiance for some time previously, and in that year too the Gaawar Nuer led by Dwal Diu[2] descended on the Dinka of Bor District and attacked the Government Post at Duk Faiwil. Reprisals followed and took the form of a series of strenuous military operations which were known as the 'Nuer Settlement'. Whatever the moral verdict, the Nuer learnt their lesson and came to heel. A period of pacification followed, and through the just and sympathetic methods of such men as Captain H. A. Romilly, Captain A. H. Alban, and Mr. H. G. Wedderburn-Maxwell, the feelings of fear and suspicion, which were natural enough in the circumstances, were quickly eradicated. It was these men who laid the foundations of the sound administrative system which was to follow. From an excessively arrogant, unco-operative and suspicious people, the Nuer rapidly became what they are now: still proud, still intensely democratic with a fine spirit of independence, but essentially friendly.

Topography and Ecology

Nuer country, set in the savannah and marshland of the Southern Sudan between latitudes 10° N. and 7° N. and with a seasonal rainfall between 800 and 1,000 mm.,[3] has its special topographical and climatic features which account for the present mode of life of the people. The total area of Nueriand in the Sudan is approximately

[1] See P. Coriat, 'Gwek the Witch-doctor and the Pyramid of Dengkur', *S.N.R.*, 1939.

[2] The son of Deng Likea, sometimes called the Prophet Diu, who rallied the Gaawar Nuer against the slavers at the end of the nineteenth century.

[3] Averages are: Malakal, 818 mm.; Fangak, 1136 mm.; Bentiu, 797 mm.; Leer, 902 mm.; Abwong, 744 mm.; Akobo, 923 mm.; Shambe, 810 mm. Fangak is exceptional, possibly owing to the heavy bush and Acacia forest in that region.

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38,000 square miles and, as it has a population of about 350,000, it will be seen that the density of population is low. Some areas are, however, more densely populated than others.

During the rainy season, roughly from May until November but varying from year to year, the people occupy higher ground which is better drained and comparatively free from flood. This higher ground, where they build their permanent villages and cattle-byres and have their cultivations, is limited and widely distributed. In some areas it is concentrated in a series of narrow ridges, usually running parallel to the main channels of the rivers, in others dispersed in a series of isolated outcrops. Such natural features have their effects on the size of communities, on communications and therefore social contacts, and, as a result, on political and social structure, producing local variations of detail which make generalizations difficult.

Surrounding the higher ground are the vast areas of open grass plain with thickets of acacia bush,[1] intersected by a network of grass-choked watercourses and the main rivers whose flood-plains produce different ecological conditions and different associations of grass types. Each of these regions has its function in the seasonal activities, which largely concern animal husbandry, but in which crop production, the collection of natural vegetation, and fishing play an important part. It must be emphasized here that the Nuer economy is still essentially at subsistence level and that there is no specialization or organized trade.

I do not propose to enlarge here on the subject of grass associations and pasture utilization. It is worth noting, however, that apart from soil, temperature, and length of day, one of the most important factors in the determination of grass types is the depth and period of immersion during the rainy season. On the higher ground, where the Nuer build their permanent villages, comparatively flood-free conditions produce a mixture of perennial and a few annual grasses which are fully grazed when the cattle are unable to move farther afield. Below this level are the vast 'intermediate' plains, subject to accumulations of rainfall and overflow from the drainage channels, where the grasses are predominantly perennials (*Setaria spp.*, *Hyparrhenia rufa*, &c.). These grasses are unpalatable and virtually useless except as bulk when in a dry and mature condition. So long as moisture is retained in the soil, however, they produce a green regrowth which provides valuable pasture, but in most areas the moisture is gone by the end of January, sometimes earlier. At this point, the cattle must be driven on to the riverain marshes, which, subject to deeper and longer inundation from the rivers and watercourses as well as from rain-flood, produce other types of perennial grasses (*Vossia cuspidata*, *Echinochloa pyramidalis*, *Oryza spp.*, &c.). These grasses are of variable value during the dry season, but generally speaking provide green nutritive grazing

[1] Mainly *Acacia seyal* Del., *Acacia fistula* Schweth., *Balanites aegyptiaca* Del., &c.

Howell E. G-5 (1942-1944)1954
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

for better fishing which the rivers provide. It is also possible, and this in a Nuer connection, that the watercourses which flow through Lou country are becoming clogged with silt and vegetation, with the result that water-points dry out earlier in the year though grazing may be improved.

Eastern Nuer District, which lies north of the Sobat up to the borders of Ethiopia, is flanked in the west by the vast Machar swamps, a region which might provide plentiful grazing. In fact, the people prefer to descend to the upper reaches of the Sobat and Baro rivers, where there is not only adequate pasture for their herds, but also exceptionally good fishing and an opportunity to raise a rich crop of maize on the fertile silt left by the flood water.

This whole area, the Zeraf Valley, Lou, and Jikany Dhor, is often referred to generally as 'Eastern Nuer' in contrast to 'Western Nuer', the region west of the Nile. The latter area is known to the Nuer who live east of it simply as *kwai Kir*, 'over the Nile', but it is known that it is the original homeland of all the Nuer and is sometimes referred to as *cieng Nuath*, 'Nuer homeland', as opposed to *diew*, 'the outside'. This distinction between eastern and western Nuer is only valid in so far as those east of the Nile are all colonizers, for though there are minor cultural differences between western Nuer and the Zeraf tribes, these do not seem to me to be any greater than are those between the latter and the Lou or the Jikany (Dhor). In speaking of the 'Eastern Nuer' therefore, I refer specifically to those people (i.e. the Jikany Dhor) who live in Eastern Nuer District, an administrative classification, and not to all Nuer east of the Nile.

Western Nuer District is divided geographically and to some extent demographically into two distinct parts. There is first the area lying north of the Bahr el Ghazal and partly west of it, and secondly the region south of that river. The difference in terrain is not very great, but whereas the people who live in the north rely on the Bahr el Ghazal itself or the rivers which flow into it, those in the south rely almost entirely on the pastures provided by the natural and seasonal irrigation of the Bahr el Jebel or by the flood waters of rivers coming in from the south-west. In the southern area are the Nuong and Dur, Deh and Aak' and Jagei. These tribes, whose permanent settlements and cultivations are on a ridge of sandy ground which runs parallel to the Bahr el Jebel, graze their cattle in the dry season along the edges of that river or along inland water systems referred to as the Bilnyang system. This system is partly dependent on spill water from the Nile and partly on water derived from a different catchment area. Hence in years when the Nile provides inadequate grazing or is inaccessible owing to heavy flooding, the Bilnyang system gives an alternative. North of these tribes are the Jikany Cieng whose country lies in the triangle formed by the intersection of the Bahr

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8:Howell E, G-5 (1962-1964)]954
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el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal. The Leik and Bul tribes are nearly all on the left bank of the Bahr el Ghazal, although some of them move to grazing grounds across the river during the dry months of the year.

All Nuer are compelled to migrate during the dry season and to set up their cattle-camps near permanent water supplies and where the receding waters of the rivers leave green and succulent grass for their animals. At first their cattle-camps are widely distributed over the 'intermediate' plains, but concentration increases as the season advances until, just before the break of the rains, in late January or February, all cattle are on the toic. The distances covered in these seasonal migrations vary considerably. Many of the Lak and Thiang Nuer, for example, move only a few miles from their permanent homes, while many of the Gaawar and Lou move eighty miles or more. These differences, however, have not affected the similarity of movements among the Nuer as a whole. The swing of the seasonal pendulum to and fro is common to all and the difference is one of distance only.

The permanent settlements of the Nuer are not concentrated like those of the Shilluk, Anuak, and some of the Dinka. A Nuer village generally consists of a number of domestic units, each having one or more cattle-byres and a few dwelling-huts, separated by distances varying from a few hundred yards to over a mile. This diffusion of dwelling-sites is partially caused by the nature of the ground, for land which is above the level of the floods is limited in most areas of Nuerland. It is, however, an inherent characteristic of the Nuer to set up his abode sufficiently far from his neighbours to emphasize and retain his individualism, yet sufficiently near to enjoy the privileges and economic advantages which neighbourhood brings. Cultivations are usually opened up in the area immediately surrounding the homestead, both for convenience and for ease in protecting crops against the ravages of wild animals and straying cattle. Fencing is impossible except in woodland areas, and is in any case a laborious process, but apart from this consideration the Nuer seems to have an intense desire to see his cultivations round his home. When the ground becomes exhausted he will move his home to a new area rather than have his gardens a few hundred yards away from it. During the dry season the settlements are partially or completely abandoned according to whether permanent water is available or not and whether there is sufficient grain to keep the older and less active members of the community. The bulk of the population always moves with the cattle, and by February there are few people left in the villages except where grazing grounds are close enough for daily contact.

The distribution of population in Nuerland is determined by the physical conditions I have described. Communications during the rains are usually difficult, and local communities, large or small, are to

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
F322 Nuer F322

167 101 177 of expansion and absorption has not been so extensive it has, nevertheless, been considerable. Both Nuer and Dinka myths recognise their common ancestry. It will soon be possible to see how closely their cultures approach one another to-day, but I reserve this comparison until the data is more abundant.

477 131 The Nuer have not been greatly affected by foreign influences owing to their geographical environment. Slight regional differences in environment exist, but their country is throughout level on mean and least since it consists of an enormous plain which for the greater part of the year is either a parched desert or a swamp. These circumstances make the Nuer difficult to approach and their relations with the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan have, on the whole, been broken and unsatisfactory and culminated a few years ago in open warfare on both banks of the Nile. Subsequently, a more deliberate policy and more systematic control were established for the whole area. At an early period the Nuer came into contact with Arabs, but, though this contact was closer in some parts of Nuerland than in others, I do not believe it anywhere deeply affected their culture.

Sketch map No. I shows the position of the Nuer in relation to the Shilluk and Dinka. The Nuer themselves speak of those tribes which inhabit the country to the west of the Bahr-el-Gebel as "homdar-ti Nuer" (*Nath riang*) and of those tribes which inhabit the country to the east of the Bahr-el-Gebel as "bush Nuer" (*Nath doar*), and it is convenient to make this distinction also by speaking of these two divisions as Western Nuer and Eastern Nuer respectively.

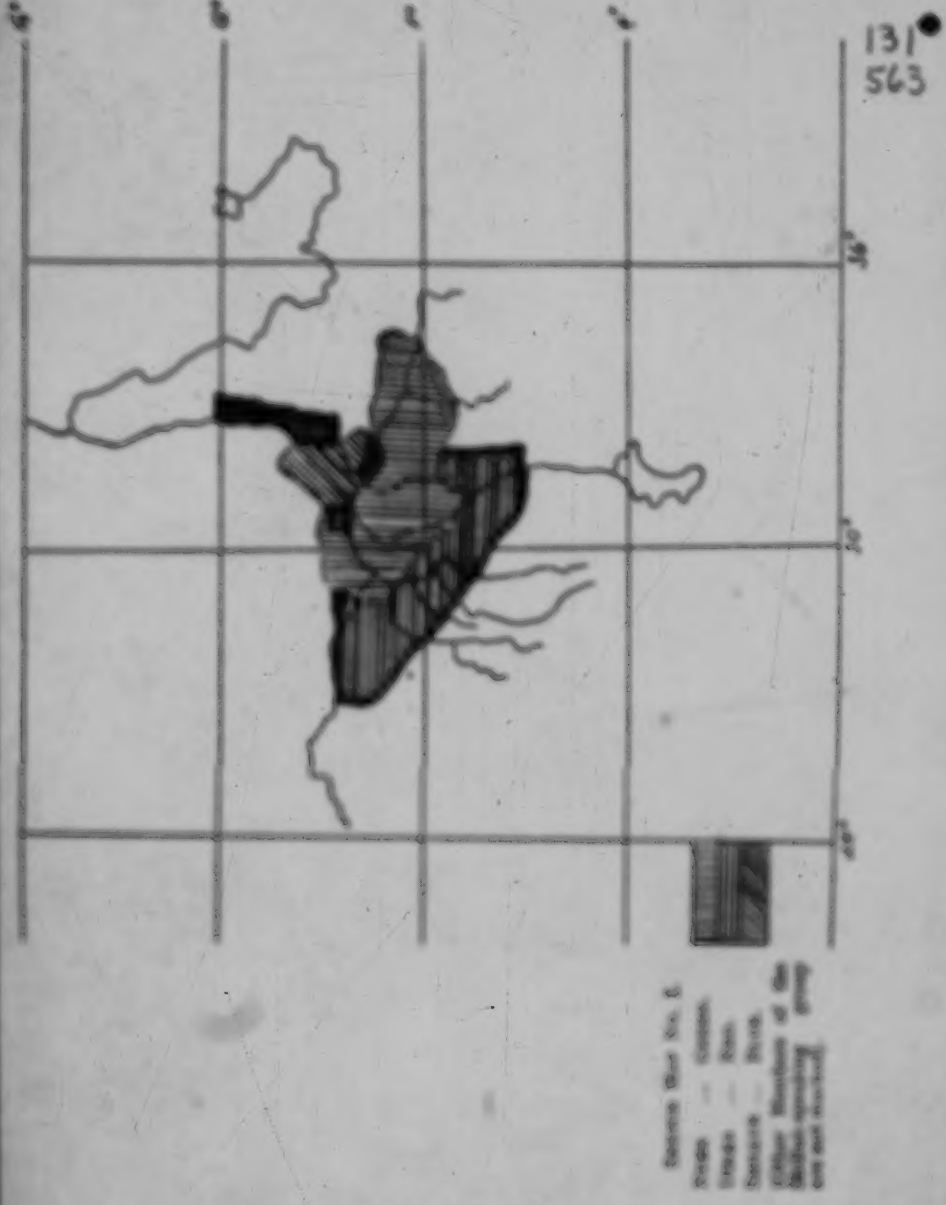
II.

631 649 Nuerland is divided into a number of territorial sections, the occupants of which form political units of the Nuer nation. These territorial sections I will call countries and the political units which occupy them I will call tribes. Thus, the Lou country is a territorial division of Nuerland and the Lou tribe is a political division of the Nuer nation. These tribes are shown on the accompanying sketch map No. II.

The published estimates of population of Nuer tribes will give some idea of their numerical importance.

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933.
F322 Nuer F322

Oxford Studies and Sketches. Plate I.



[facing p. 6]

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933

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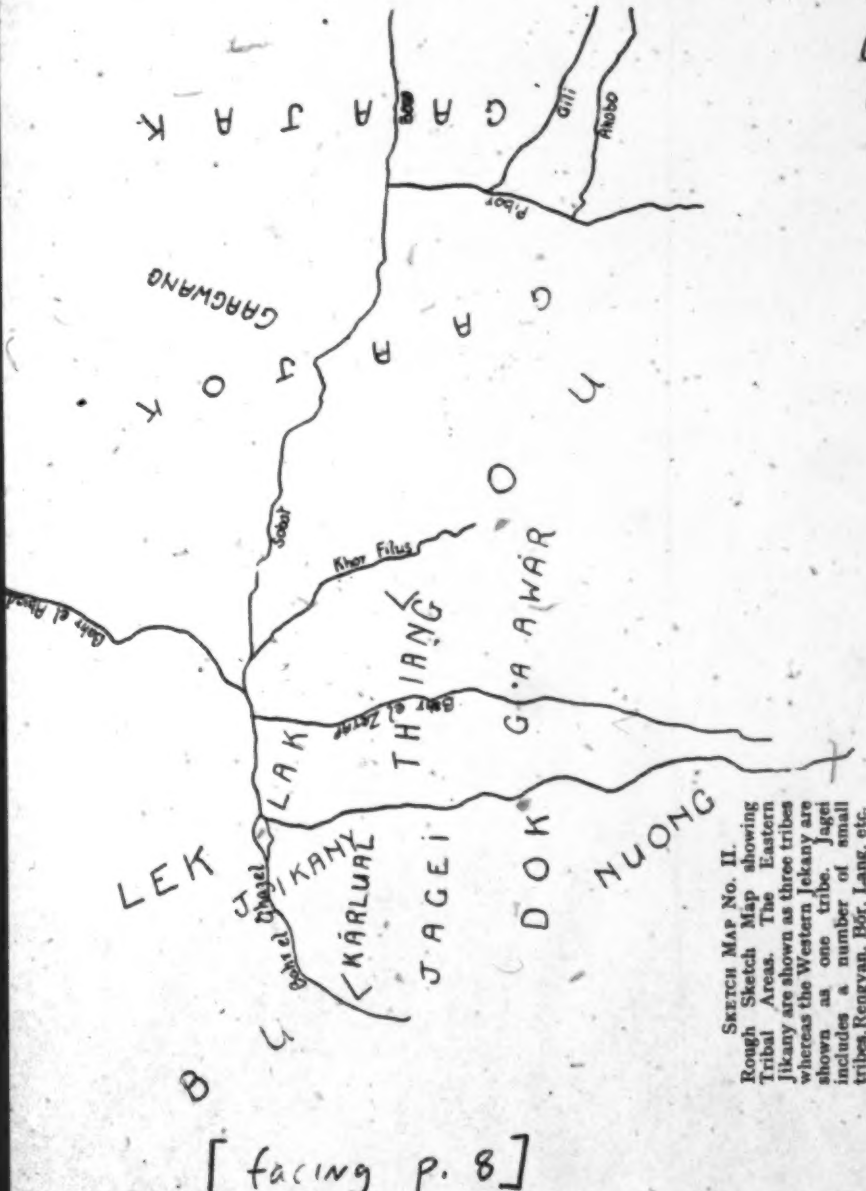

SKETCH MAP No. II.
Rough Sketch Map showing Tribal Areas. The Eastern Jikany are shown as three tribes whereas the Western Jekany are shown as one tribe. Jagei includes a number of small tribes, Rengyan, Bör, Lang, etc.

[facing p. 8]

12;Evans-Pritchard E.5 (1930-1931) 1933

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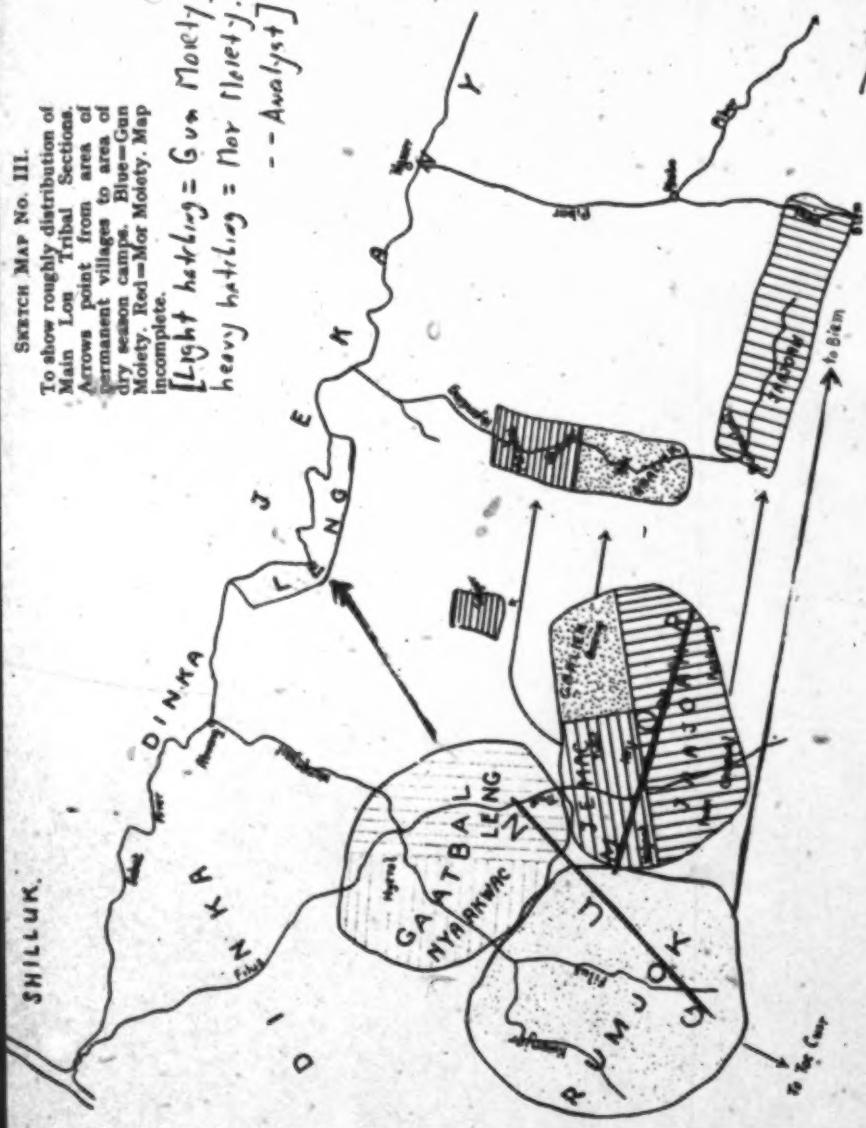
SKETCH MAP No. III.

To show roughly distribution of Main Lou Tribal Sections. Arrows point from area of permanent villages to area of dry season camps. Blue—Gun Moiety. Red—Mor Moiety. Map incomplete.

[Light hatching = Gun Moiety
heavy hatching = Mor Moiety.
--Analyst]



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12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
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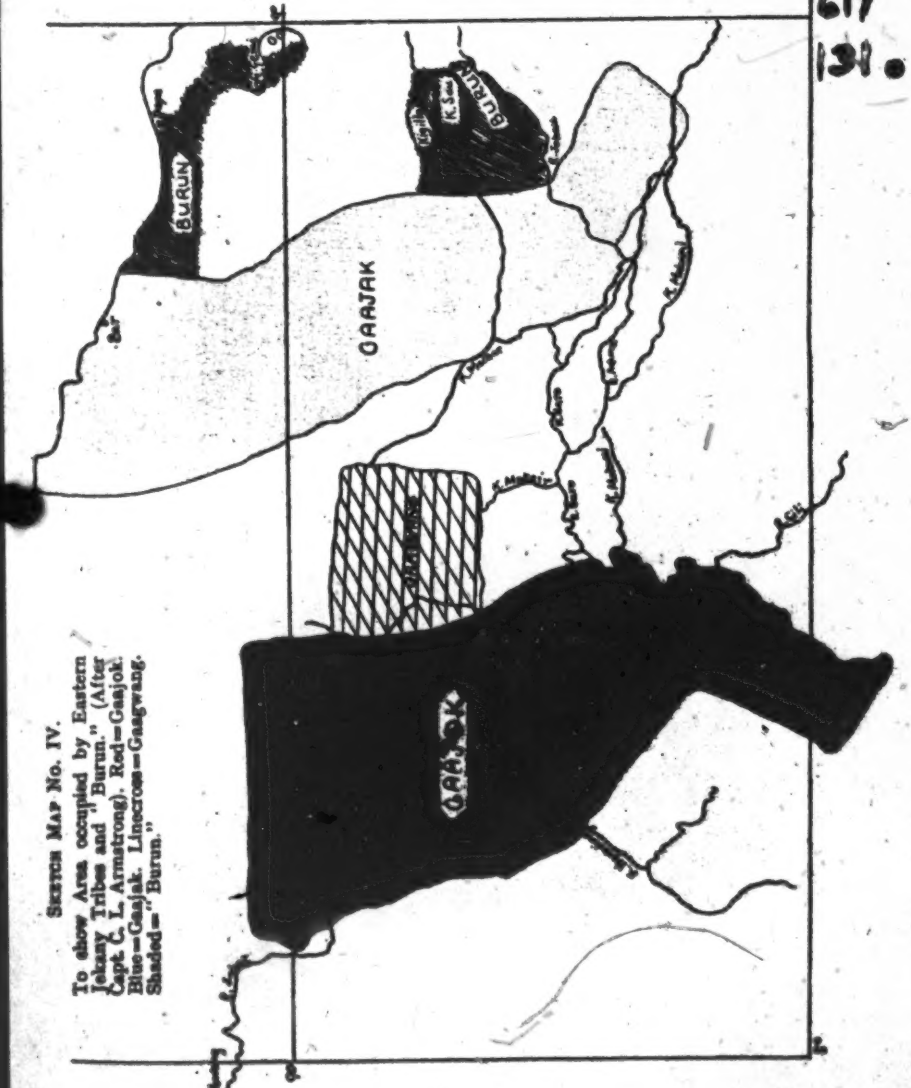

SKETCH MAP No. IV.

To show Area occupied by Eastern Jekany Tribes and "Burun." (After Capt. C. L. Armstrong). Red=Gaajok. Blue=Gajak. Linecross=Gaagwang. Shaded="Burun."

[facing p. 18]

15: Butt E-4 (No date) 1952 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

Part I

GENERAL

The designation 'Nilotic' has, for a great number of years, been applied indiscriminately by explorers, traders, government officials and travellers to all those peoples who live in the Upper Nile Valley, along the banks and in close vicinity to the great river and its tributaries. 101

As with most old terms, applied in the first instance to little-known areas and people, it later became necessary to redefine and limit its scope. The term Nilotic has come to have a specialised meaning for anthropologists. It refers only to certain groups of people in the Nile valley - and to some further south in Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika - who have closely related physical, linguistic and other cultural characteristics as well as traditions and myths suggesting common origin. It is these features, together with certain characteristic types of social structure and organisation, which have led anthropologists to feel themselves justified in including all such groups under one common title - 'Nilotes' - and to recognise the Nilotic peoples as a unique ethnic group. Other groups of people living in the same area have been greatly affected by the Nilotes, through intermarriage, warfare, and constant borrowing over many generations of close, and sometimes intimate contact. In turn, the Nilotes have been greatly modified, physically, linguistically and culturally, by their neighbours and in several cases it has been difficult to determine, often with the slightest and most inadequate ethnographic material, whether a certain group of people should be assigned to the Nilotic peoples or to some other ethnic group, such as the Nilo-Hamitic peoples of East Africa.

The classification of the lesser known tribes of the Upper Nile basin is still controversial, even where language has been acknowledged as the chief criterion of affinity to one or another ethnic group. It may be that some groups will never be classified with certainty owing to extensive mingling with neighbours; in other cases further research will determine the peoples they most closely resemble. For the purpose of this survey only those which can be classified with certainty, and for which we possess adequate information for comparative purposes, will be considered in full.

LOCATION, POPULATION AND NOMENCLATURE

The Nilotic tribal groups are contained approximately within the limits of Lat. 12°N. - Lat. 4°S. and Long. 36°E. - Long. 22°E. The southern half of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is the present homeland of the majority of the Nilotes, who are found in the Provinces of Darfur, Kordofan, White Nile, Fung, Upper Nile, Bahr el Ghazal and Equatoria. Certain Nilotic groups, however, are situated in the western borderland areas of Abyssinia, in the northern regions of Uganda, and in Eastern Kenya, while in two instances they overlap into the Belgian Congo and Tanganyika. The 101 131

101 Nilotes do not occupy one continuous stretch of territory. In the north
131 there is the block consisting of the Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk and Anuak; separated from these are the Pari, Burun-speaking people, Atwot and scattered groups of the Bahr el Ghazal. The central Nilotes (Acholi, Lango, Alur and Jo-Paluo) are separated from the northern block by Sudanic and Nilo-Hamitic peoples, and the southernmost Nilotic groups are further separated from each other and from the central block by Nilo-Hamites and Bantu. At a broad estimate they number about two and a half millions.

000 A more detailed account of the location, population, nomenclature and neighbouring tribes of the Nilotic groups follows the list of tribal groups given below:

1. Dinka
2. Nuer
3. Shilluk
4. Anuak
5. Acholi
6. Lango
7. Luo
8. Burun
9. The Bor Belanda
10. Jo Luo (Jur)
11. Shilluk Luo tribes of the Bahr el Ghazal
12. Pari
13. Alur (a) Jo Padhola (b) Jo Paluo

The official population figures given below are in many cases only approximate owing to the difficulties of carrying out an adequate census in remote and often inaccessible areas.

THE DINKA

LOCATION

The Dinka extend over a vast area from 12° - 6°N. Lat., from Renk in the north to Malek and Tombe in the south, only about 160 miles from the Uganda border. There is a wide extension to the west so that the people occupy much of the Bahr el Ghazal province and also the most southern part of Kordofan province, immediately north of the Bahr el Arab river. There is a long intervening wedge of Nuer about the Bahr el Ghazal, Bahr el Zeraf and main Nile rivers. The Dinka tribes are usually divided into geographical sections as follows:- (1)

(a) *The Northern Dinka*, situated mainly in the Upper Nile Province; they extend south to the Bahr el Zeraf, Lake No and the Bahr el Ghazal. The main Dinka tribes inhabiting this area are known as the Padang Dinka.

(b) *The Eastern Dinka*, situated on the right bank of the Nile from south east of Ayod to Malek.

(c) *The Central Dinka*, inhabiting the area on the left bank of the Nile, extending west to Tonj.

(d) *The Western Dinka*, situated west of the Nuer about the Jur river area from Tonj in the south and the Bahr el Arab in the north and westwards of Aweil. This area is inhabited by the Malual Dinka and other lesser tribes. In addition the Manangier live in the swamps among the Rek Dinka between the rivers Jur and Lol. The Manangeir are Jo Luo people who took

(1) Bryan and Tucker, *Distribution of the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic Languages*, 1948, p.7.

refuge among the Western Dinka to avoid the Arab slave raids and, later, the conflict between the Dinka and Azande. They are rapidly being absorbed by the Dinka and are consequently losing their Jo Luo customs and dialect. They are said to number 1,000 - 2,000 souls approximately.

000

NEIGHBOURS

The neighbours of the Dinka include the Nuer. There has been conflict between the two for a long time and relations have been predominently warlike and marked by interminable cattle raiding. In the north east the Dinka are in contact with the Shilluk while, in the south west, in the Bahr el Ghazal province, there is the confusion of tribes in the neighbourhood of Wau. Among the Wau district tribes there is the Nilotic Jo Luo (Jur) who have been in immediate contact with their Dinka neighbours for a number of generations and have been subordinate to them to a certain extent.

POPULATION

Total population has been estimated at 500,000 souls approximately.

NOMENCLATURE

The Dinka name for themselves is *Jien*. Dinka is believed to be the anglicized form of the Arabic *Denkawi*, from *Jien*.

THE NUER

LOCATION

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The Nuer inhabit the savannah stretching on both sides of the Nile south of its junction with the Sobat and Bahr el Ghazal rivers and on both banks of the two tributaries. The Nile divides the Nuer country into two parts, Eastern and Western Nuerland. According to Evans-Pritchard the most important tribal groups of the Western Nuer are: the Bul, Jagei, Lak, Nuong and Dok. The most important tribes of the Eastern Nuer are: the Thiang, Lak, Gaweir and Lou.(1) The Jekany tribes are found on the west bank of the Nile and also far to the east of the Sobat river where they extend over the Anglo-Egyptian border into Abyssinia.

NEIGHBOURS

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The western parts of Nuerland are in direct contact, and usually conflict, with their Dinka neighbours. Nuer expansion has been at the expense of their Dinka neighbours and it is generally recognised that much of present day Nuer country was Dinka in the middle of the 19th century. Relations between Nuer and Dinka will be discussed in the account of the Nuer political structure. The Shilluk are separated from the Nuer by the Dinka, except in a small area, and there has been little contact between the two groups, perhaps owing to the more highly organised society of the Shilluk which renders them difficult to raid with impunity. The Nuer give the

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, 1940, p.8 (map).

15: Butt E-4 (No date) 1952 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

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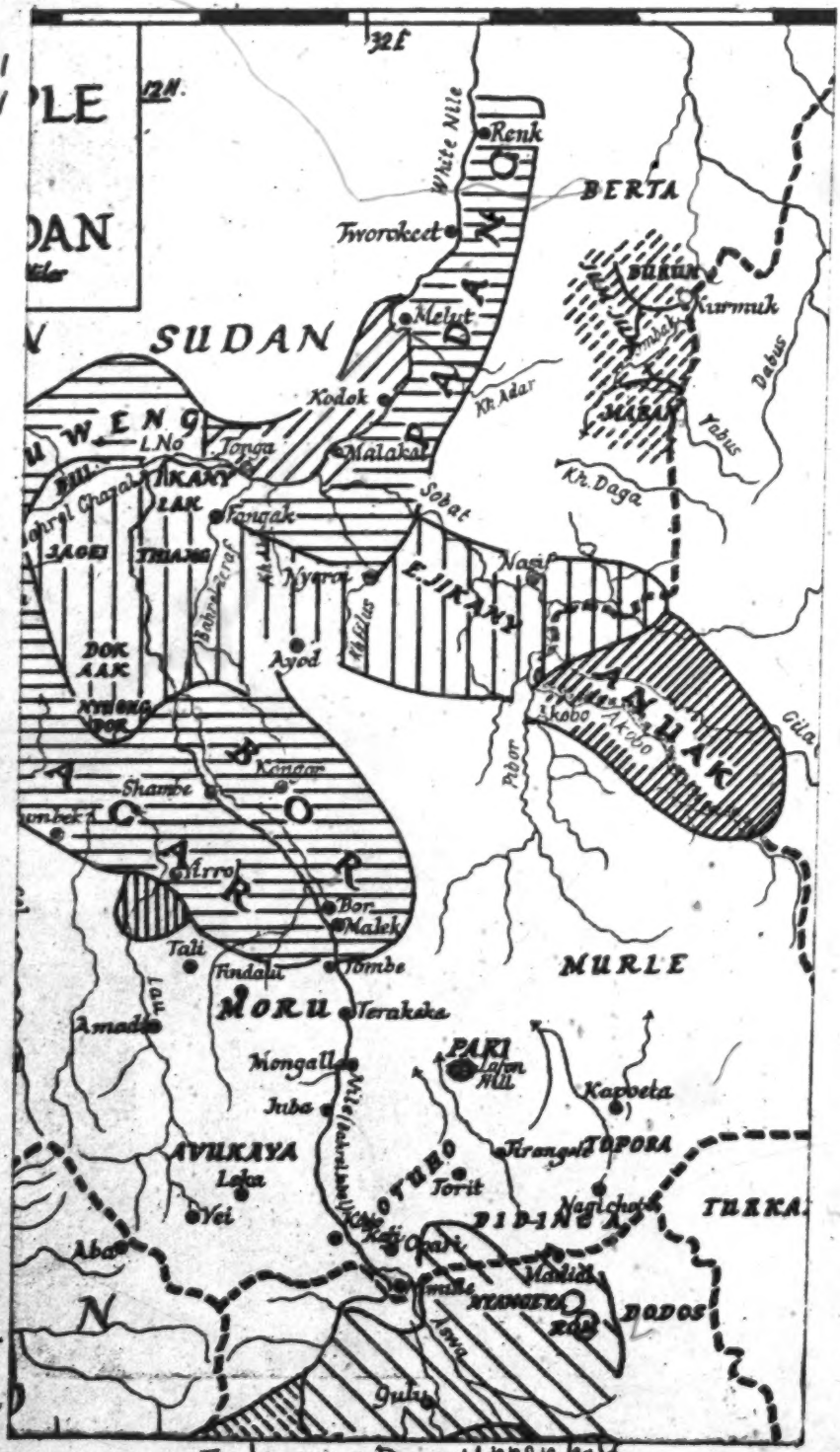
End map A Upper half

15: Butt E-4 (No date) 1952 FJ22 Nuer FJ22



15: Butt E-4 (No date) 1952 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

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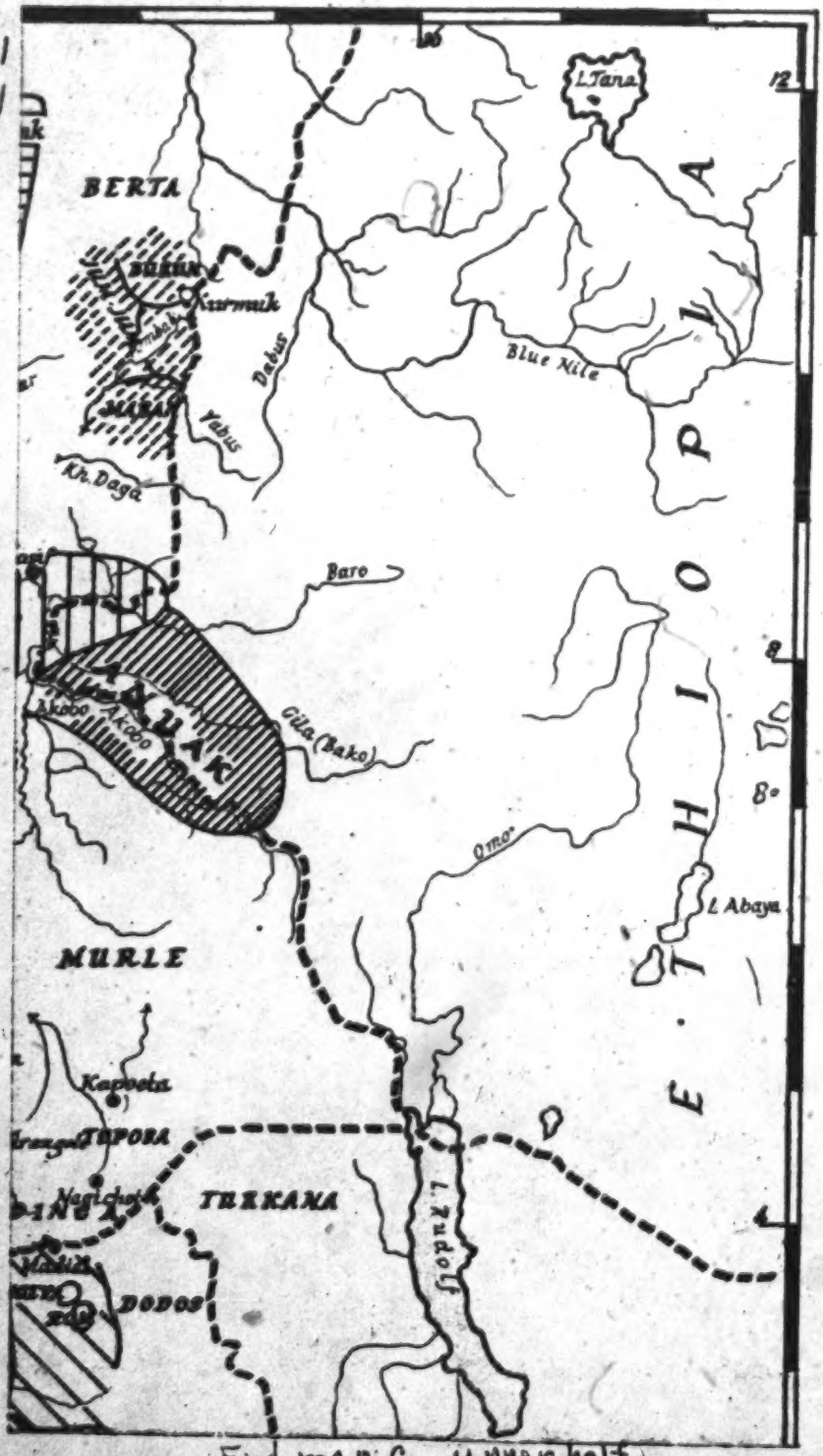

End map C upper half

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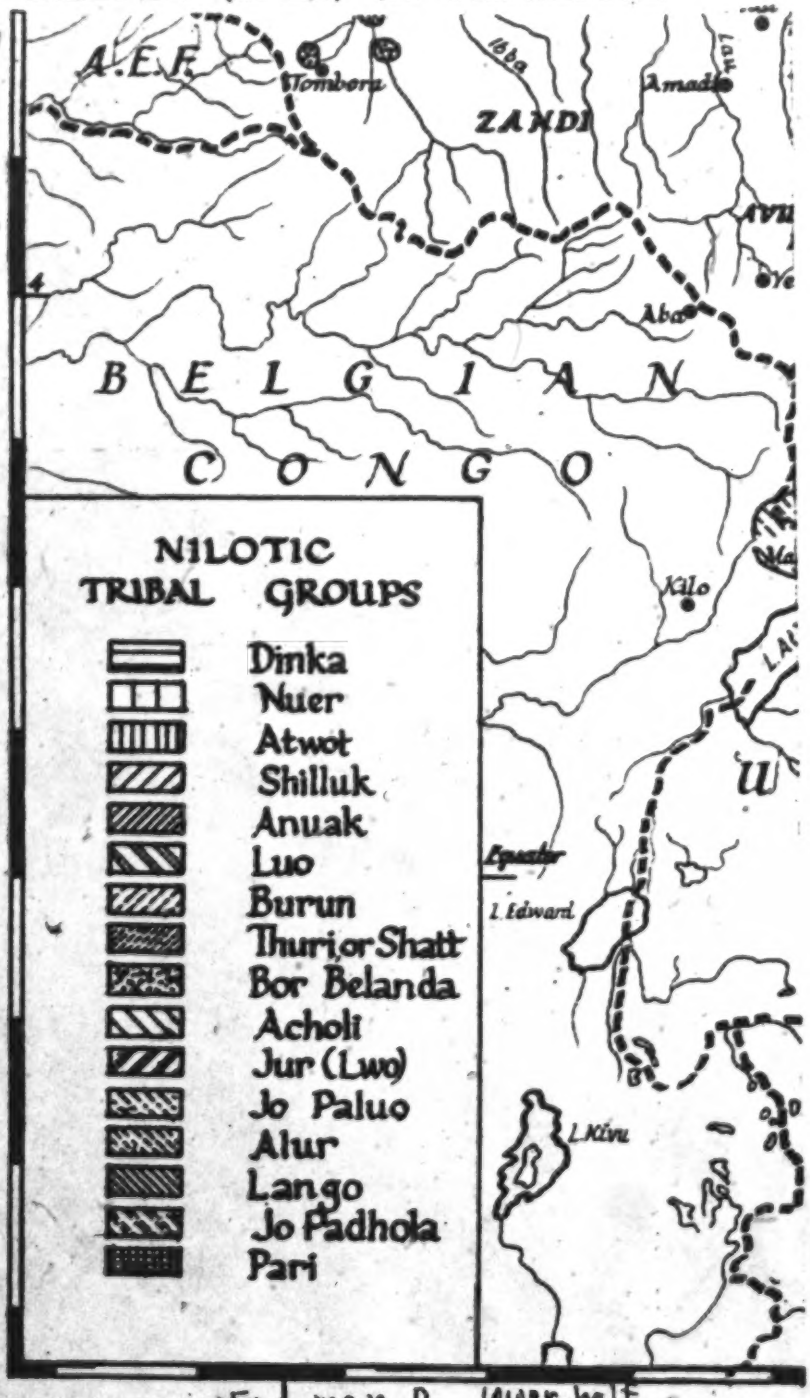

End map D lower half

15: Butt E-4 (No date) 1952 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

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End map E lower half

15: Butt E-4 (No date) 1952 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

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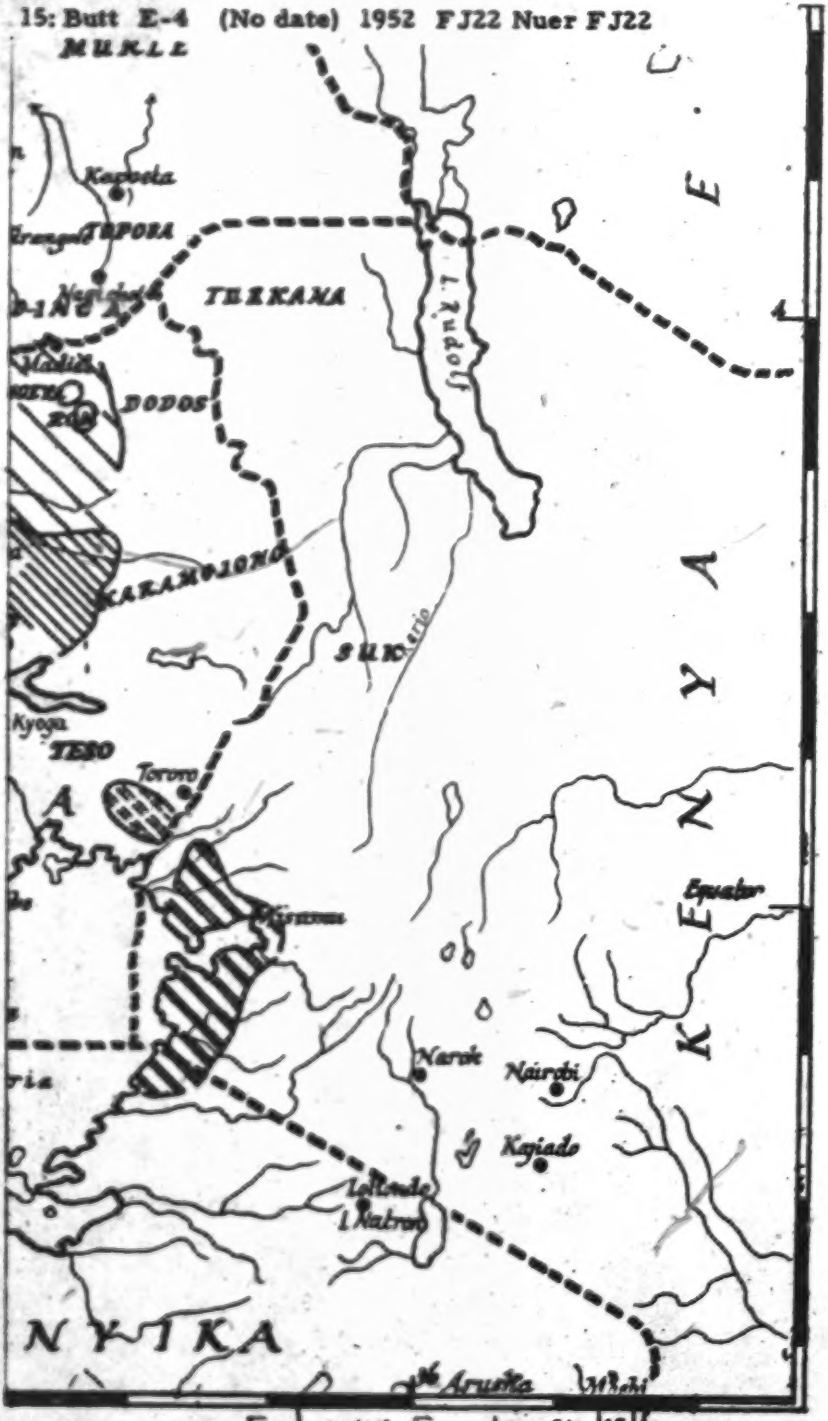

End map F lower half